The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers 1978

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PRESBYTERIAN PROGRESSIVES AND THE PROBLEM OF THE CITY IN TORONTO 1881 - 1912

"The city," wrote James A. MacDonald, editor of the Toronto Presbyterian journal, The Westminster, "is the strategic point in the warfare against evil; the storm centre is there; there the fiercest battle rages. In the country the temptations are fewer and less potent. For this reason people in the country sometimes fail to appreciate the strenuousness of city life, the peril of it, the claims they have upon the country's support who stand all day long in the full front of the struggle for better manners, purer laws and a more wholesome life." [1]

Urban historians in Canada have recently undertaken extensive research on the growth of Canadian cities and the responses of various groups to the opportunities and problems posed by urbanization. Several have noted the central role played by religion in a variety of movements for prohibition, Sabbath observance, labour and women's rights, and educational and administrative reforms in late nineteenth century Ontario.[2] Some have paid particular attention to the rise of the radical wing of the social gospel, coincident with urbanization and industrialization, particularly in the West, and traced their gradual alienation from the mainline churches.[3] Church historians have examined the response to urban growth in Montreal [4] and the expansion of Toronto from 1850-90 [5], but little attention has been directed to the response of the Presbyterian progressives in Toronto to what they called the problem of the city.[6]

This paper does not offer a detailed analysis of the Presbyterian response to urban growth in Toronto, but rather presents some preliminary observations about the changes that took place in analysis and practice among Toronto Presbyterians between 1881 and 1912. International experiences and influences played an important role in preparing the Toronto progressives for urban problems. When traditional methods and voluntary help proved unequal to the task, they introduced specialized institutions and professional workers.

Changes and expansion in transportation, agriculture, manufacturing and trade had increased the popultion of Toronto to 86,415 by 1881 and the city was fast emerging as the metropolitan centre for the entire province of Ontario. But the most dramatic changes took place between 1881 and 1912. By the 1911 census, the population was 376,471 an increase of 335%. 1,100 of the province's industrial establishments were in Toronto, employing 27% of Ontario's industrial workers, as compared with 11% in 1881. Similiar growth took place in financial and other service industries. During these years Toronto burst its geographical boundaries and grew well beyond the Humber and the Don. Such changes brought 'the problem of the city' to the attention of Toronto Presbyterian's in a fashion that taxed both their imaginations and resources.[7]

Their analysis of the causes and solutions for the problem of the city focused on the weakening of those traditional institutions that had upheld the moral and social values of Protestant Ontario. By 1911, urban problems were seen to be central to the future of the nation:

> Who will rule these great cities? Grogsellers, gamblers and grafters and their demoralized and enslaved victims? Or a free, enlightened, highly moral Christian electorate? Will it be money or men, privilege or popular right? Will womanhood and childhood and even manhood be protected against exploitation and debauchery and bondage? Will the people be guaranteed sanitary homes, a plentiful supply of light and air, abundant opportunity of safe recreation and clean amusement, and protection against grinding poverty? Will there be slums?

> Will they honour the name of Christ? Will they love the Church that bears His name? Will these cities resemble the New Jerusalem or be typical of hell?[8]

The scope of the analysis broadened:

> Besides being a problem of Evangelism, it is a problem of economics, of ethics, of philanthropy, of politics, of social and moral reform of every variety - temperance, gambling, Sabbath desecration, various forms of vice, of alien races and tongues of housing, sanitation, education, recreation, etc. Facing the problem of the city means facing all these problems in one.[9]

As this analysis developed, it is little wonder that missions and volunteers were replaced by specialized institutions and professional workers. But central to the whole effort was the intention of maintaining traditional moral and social values. Religion was the essential basis of the good life and the church was a necessary institutional vehicle for its promotion:

> The Church's chief concern is the Church itself, the sanctifying and the strengthening of her life for the sake and the saving of the world.[10]

Presbyterians insisted that the Church was the moral dynamic and spiritual guide of the nation. New tools of analysis and new methods were designed to strengthen and expand the traditional influence of the Church.

I

Urban growth had come late to Canada. Europe and the United States experienced the combined impact of industrialization and urbanization during the nineteenth century. The awareness that Canadian churchmen had of the problem of the city dates from contacts with others, particularly in Great Britain and the United States, who were attempting to meet urban problems in their countries.

Two significant shifts took place among evangelical Protestants in the North Atlantic triangle in their attitudes to the problem of the city during the nineteenth century. In the wake of the Evangelical Revival in Great Britain and the Second Great Awakening in the United States, the negative view of man's possibilities held by the vast majority of Calvinists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was softened and the scope of God's grace was seen to encompass all mankind.[11] Such a shift provided strong impetus for missionary efforts and opened up the possibility of reform replacing charity in matters of social relief. Concrete expressions of this shift could be seen in the growth of urban missionary movements and the work in Scottish cities inspired by men like Thomas Chalmers.[12] Compassion and protection provided the dual motivation for much of this work. They argued that improvement in the conditions of the masses had to come through the development of their own frugal, industrious and self-restrained habits. These qualities would be instilled by an adequate moral and religious training. That training would also protect the values and institutions that were threatened by the existence of poverty and squalor in the midst of growing plenty. The aim of such reform efforts was to equip the poor to gain their fair share of material progress through personal reformation.[13]

During the latter part of the nineteenth century, there was another shift that affected the methods used in promoting such reformation. Typified in the work of Dwight L. Moody, there was a shift from conversion to nurture with respect to the "Christianization of civilization". The concern to nurture the nation in the Christian faith gave birth to a number of international organizations for Christian education at all levels of Church life. Sunday schools, the Y.M.C.A.'s, missionary organizations, young people's societies and student bodies all engaged in this movement. Personal regeneration was still held to be important, but the educational work that built and sustained a Christian life was seen as equally, if not more, important.[14]

As the cities of Europe and America industrialized during the nineteenth century, churchmen attempted to keep pace by expanding their facilities for promoting personal reform. The increasing number of problems brought a recognition on the part of some churchmen that personal reform was not enough. The causes of poverty and squalor could not, in their minds, be attributed solely to bad habits and vice on the part of the poor. Social as well as individual reform was necessary to ensure the safety and progress of civilization.[15]

Canadian Presbyterians made contact with other churchmen engaged in the struggle to keep the city pure through a number of channels. Scotland was the place of birth and education for a number of the men who assumed positions of leadership as the problem of the city emerged. International bodies such as the Pan-Presbyterian Alliance and the Evangelical Alliance provided forums for the discussion of the problem of the city. There were an increasing number of religious journals catering to Canadian Presbyterians in the latter part of the nineteenth century which made important contributions to the awareness and analysis of the problem of the city.[16]

Early articles on the Church and the city revealed the twin influences of Britain and the United States. In 1891 an extensive article on the evangelization of the city appeared in the Knox College Monthly written by Daniel McTavish, a D.Sc. from Queen's University, Kingston (1885) and minister at Central Presbyterian Church in Toronto.

McTavish drew heavily on Josiah Strong's book, Our Country, published in the United States in 1885 while Strong was secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, for his analysis of the problem.[17] The single most important development in the nation was seen to be the rapid growth in size and influence of the modern city. The causes of that growth, according to McTavish, were entirely different from the desire for protection and social life that had animated the growth of ancient cities. The modern city had a peculiar fascination, "a sort of witchery in the rush and roar of city life", that attracted many. Modern invention and discovery increased the centralizing tendency, while improvements in

The principles that McTavish outlined were those that the Church attempted to follow in dealing with the problem of the city. From Britain, and Scotland in particular, Canadian Presbyterianism drew its theological attitudes. It was conservative in its view of the necessity of the Church in national life and the importance given to evangelism in its work. But the similarities between the American and Canadian situations, especially with respect to immigration, led the Canadians to draw heavily on American work in their analysis and response to the new social problems posed by urban growth. The ideology was dominated by the Scottish influence, but many of the methods adopted bore the stamp of American progressivism.[20]

There was, however, a uniqueness which Canadians sensed about their situation. This was largely due, in their minds, to the late emergence of the problem in Canada and the quality of the nation's leadership. George M. Grant, principal of Queen's University, Kingston, told a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in Chicago in 1893 that Canadian churches were "as yet to be confronted with only the first beginnings of those grave social problems of the city and the country which Dr. Strong depicts in his recent work, The New Era." He outlined the response which he expected from Canadians as these conditions emerged:

> The questions that are being discussed in older and more crowded countries must be faced by the wise men and the young men of Canada, no matter what disturbance to deeply-rooted preconceptions may be the result. Movement in this direction has commenced already, as might be expected on the part of a truth-loving people coming into full consciousness of the meaning of the century in which it finds itself. Our institutions of learning...are now filled with men and a due proportion of women, who combine that self-control, reticence, and modesty begotten by conservative training with love of learning and a deep religious spirit, and also with that freedom from routine and readiness to experiment that belongs to a new country.[21]

The sense of national mission, with its opportunity and responsibility, was captured in one of James A. MacDonald's editorials in The Westminster:

> God has given us in this land a great and goodly heritage. We have all the rich material endowment that goes to the making of a great nation. May we not cherish high ideals of what our country shall be? May we not cherish the hope that, in this formative period of our country's history, the teachers in our schools and colleges; the men who, in legislative halls, are shaping our institutions; the men who, through the press, have the ear of the people every day, and the men who are called to exercise the prophetic function, shall work together as a united force to permeate our people with those great, eternal principles of righteousness which alone can make a nation strong?[22]

It was generally agreed that Canada had an unparalleled opportunity to control and shape her life as a nation and churchmen were determined that Christian values and principles would be a decisive force in that work. If the cities of the land were the strategic points in the battle for a righteous nation, the success or failure of the Church's work in the city was crucial to their hopes.

II

As McTavish's article indicated, the initial response of Presbyterians to Toronto's growth took the form of strengthening and expanding traditional methods. Through church extension, mission work and voluntary organizations, Presbyterians attempted to preserve the "uplifting" influence of Christianity among the increasing number of Torontonians.

As early as the 1870's, the conditions that characterized the inner cores of the cities of Great Britain and the United States were beginning to appear in districts of Toronto such as the St.John's Ward. A Church Extension Society was established during the 1870's to plan and support the establishment of churches in the newer districts of the city. In many areas, however, self-supporting congregations could

not be maintained. The Presbyterian Ministerial Association of Toronto divided the city into districts and allocated these areas to various congregations for the establishment and oversight of mission work. By 1886, John G. Shearer, later secretary of the Board of Moral and Social Reform, reported nine such missions. Much of this mission work was located in the new areas of the city, but some served older downtown districts that were being populated by immigrants and the unchurched poor.

Shearer described the work of the Elizabeth St. Mission, connected with Central Church where Daniel McTavish was minister. There was a Sunday School, a Band of Hope (for the promotion of total abstinance among children and their parents), a penny savings bank, a girls's sewing class, mother's meetings, cottage prayer meetings and visitations, a medical dispensary, a group of tract distributors and a student missionary at the Church who conducted services at the mission and visited in the neighbourhood.[23]

Another important institution in inner city work was connected with St. Andrew's Church, King St. The work began with a Sunday School, an evening school and a penny savings bank in 1877. The Sunday school sought to establish religious influence among children who were growing up in tenement districts where parents were too busy, indifferent or drunk to concern themselves with religious matters. The evening school was designed to provide an opportunity for young men who were unable to attend school during the day to do so at night. In addition, afternoon classes were offered for girls in sewing and mother's meetings were held, both directed at strengthening the home life of the district. The penny savings bank provided not only the immediate opportunity to save money, but also helped build the habits of thrift and self-discipline. The object of these efforts, commonly known as 'The Dorset Schools', was summed up in the final line of a poster which advertised the activities - "All welcome who desire to improve themselves."

The work grew until in 1891 St. Andrew's Institute was erected on Nelson St. The facilities included a gymnasium, swimming pool, kitchen, large club and reading rooms, small class rooms, and

living quarters for the caretaker's family and the Bible Reader or deaconess.[24]

Urban growth in the 1890's involved a geographical expansion and shift in population that had not taken place during earlier periods. Not only was the Church faced again with the problem of church extension, but also with the danger of large, well-to-do churches vacating sites and following their congregations to the comfort and affluence of the suburbs.

The movement of churches from the down-town core did not pass unchallenged. When Knox Church proposed to move from its Queen St. site to Spadina Ave. in 1899, a long debate began on "the down-town problem." The Westminster, under its editor, James A. MacDonald, provided a running commentary on the debate and used the occasion to inform Torontonians of experiments in other cities, such as Manchester, England, where an inner city church had been refitted as an institutional church adapted to the needs of the immediate neighbourhood. MacDonald pleaded for a similiar spirit of inventiveness and concern in Toronto.[25]

By the time Knox Church closed its doors on Queen St. in 1905, Toronto Presbyterians seemed convinced that city work could not be left to weak and sporadic mission efforts. Fully equipped churches, established in a planned and orderly fashion, drawing on the expertise and financial support of the whole Presbytery, were, according to current opinion, the only lasting solution to the problem of maintaining a religious presence in the down-town areas.

In March, 1903, a meeting was called by the Presbytery of Toronto to discuss the neglect of the city core. Commenting on the meeting, The Presbyterian, a companion journal to The Westminster, noted that the situation in Toronto was not acute, but trends that had created the problem of neglect in American and British cities were certainly developing. The Church had, up to the present, addressed herself to the relatively small influx of immigrants - the Jews, Chinese and Italians - but The Presbyterian expressed alarm at the "large number of our artisan population, intelligent, self-respecting, and in

comfortable circumstances, who are absent from God's house, and who, in increasing numbers, are becoming estranged from His Church."[26]

More details on the conditions in Toronto were presented in November of 1903:

> Like a great octopus the city is throwing out its tentacles in all directions and drawing to itself all sorts and conditions of men. There are those who are attracted by the enlarged educational, social and commercial advantages of the city, but there are also those who are drawn by motives of an entirely different character, and the result is that within the limits of any great modern city the most startling contrasts and extremes are found.

The article went on to say that lines of separation between classes were becoming more sharply defined, "quarters" were growing, and "moral infection" and degradation went on constantly among the ignorant and the immoral. In face of all of this, argued The Presbyterian, some of the large, wealthy churches were leaving those parts of the city where they were most needed.[27]

Out of the March meeting emerged the Toronto Presbyterian Union, an organization of leading laymen and clergy who hoped to strengthen and supervise the extension of the Church in Toronto:

> The great underlying aim is that the strong shall help the weak; that the efforts shall not be sporadic but systematic, and that money and counsel and brains of the stronger churches shall assist those who with inadequate equipment of men and money seek to hold the hard places and to keep the life of the city free from the debasing influences that swarm in the wake of neglect.[28]

The need for such work, according to The Presbyterian, was urgent. Toronto had been growing at the rate of 10,000 to 15,000 per year, yet only one new church had been founded between 1899 and 1904.[29]

A summary of the work which the Union was undertaking was presented in 1906. Twenty-four churches and areas in Toronto were listed as being in need of strengthening or new work. Eight of the twenty-four were down-town situations. In some, it had been possible

to build institutional churches, such as MacDonald had suggested. The Union met with moderate success in providing money and land for new churches, and did provide co-ordinated planning, but the annual reports to the Presbytery of Toronto suggested that support for the work of the Union was not as widespread as was deemed necessary.[30]

Traditional church methods and forms had proved inadequate to meet the problem of the inner city. By 1907, it was widely recognized that special measures would have to be adopted if the Church was to maintain an influential presence in the poorer districts of Canada's cities. As Presbyterians encountered the problems of the city, the understanding of some of the message and person of Christ and its application in the life of the Church and the nation had broadened from its personalist base to a more inclusive and comprehensive social gospel. James A. MacDonald described this development as a new evangelism for the old Evangel:

> The Evangel for the last year of the nineteenth century is the same Evangel that quickened and sustained men in the first, but the evangelism of the first year could not serve in the last. The changed conditions of life, the widened horizons of thought, the new knowledge and the new needs have made necessary a new evangelism if the old Evangel would reach men and be again, as it was of old, a recovering and redeeming power.[31]

In 1907, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada provided an institutional framework within which the progressives could promote their new evangelism.

III

Having received overtures from several Presbyteries across the country, the General Assembly established a Committee on Temperance and other Moral and Social Reforms. The overture from the Presbytery of Toronto mentioned similiar bodies in the Presbyterian Church in the United States, North, and the Methodist Church in Canada.

In content, the concerns of the new committee were similiar to those of the Committee on Church Life and Work which preceded it, but there were two important differences. The first was the appointment of John G. Shearer as full-time secretary of the committee. Shearer had been secretary of the Lord's Day Alliance since 1900. By 1906, he had guided the Lord's Day Act through the Dominion Parliament and become a national figure in the field of moral and social reform.[32] The second difference was the composition of the committee. With the establishment of the committee, those churchmen who advocated a more progressive approach to the problem of the city gained a national voice within the Church and a base for the organization and support of their work.

In 1911, George Pidgeon, then professor of practical theology at Westminster Hall in Vancouver and joint chairman of the Board of Moral and Social Reform and Evangelism with C. W. Gordon, described four ways in which the reformers sought to promote their cause. Education, he said, was the first means, the foundation of all the rest. The people must be shown the danger and taught their duty." Organization was the second step; legislation to protect the innocent from "the business of vice" followed: and finally the need for better law enforcement and "an aggressive public sentiment behind our officials."[33] In general, the Board saw itself preventing the spread of evil and providing an environment in which each citizen could grow to his or her full potential within the brotherhood of men and under the fatherhood of God.

Presbyterians were not alone in the push for reform. The Methodists had established a national committee in 1904. In 1907, Shearer was instrumental in the organization of the Moral and Social Reform Council of Canada which he and T.A. Moore of the Methodist Church jointly headed. The Council, later to become known as the Social Service Council of Canada, was a coalition of church, labour and farm bodies in the interests of progressive reforms.

The movement for change and reform set in motion by such organizations did not meet with universal approval. The task of laying bare some of the sores of a growing nation brought criticism upon the Board and some of its members. For example, in 1907, C. W. Gordon, who had achieved international fame as a novelist under the pen name Ralph Connor, together with Salem Bland and others, had been publically criticized for "meddling in politics". The Presbyterian responded with characteristic vigour:

> The sensitiveness to criticism and the virulence with which some public men resent any interference of the pulpit are an indication of the influence which a strong, sane ministry, with a prophetic passion for righeousness, might exert in the forming of a vigorous and healthful public opinion. If we are to be true to the ideals which animated the Fathers of Confederation, and are to preserve our splendid country from the things which bring weakness and decay, the evils which flourish at its centre must be laid bare and revealed in all their naked ugliness. This is quite as necessary as the inculcating of sound ethical principles.[34]

In 1908, two Presbyterian ministers were faced with libel suits over comments made concerning moral and social conditions in their communities. John Pringle, a Yukon missionary, had criticized law enforcement in the Yukon, while James A. MacDonald, by then editor of the Toronto Globe, had incurred the wrath of Beattie Nesbitt, whom MacDonald had accused of introducing Tammany Hall tactics into Toronto politics.[35]

In an attempt to mobilize the laity of the Church behind the cause of reform, C. W. Gordon and J. A. MacDonald introduced a laymen's organization, the Presbyterian Brotherhood, to Canada from the United States in 1907. The Brotherhood took as its motto a phrase made famous by the British journalist W. T. Stead, "The union of all who love in the service of all who suffer." Upon the organizing of a branch in Toronto The Presbyterian commented:

> The great aim of the Brotherhood is to recruit the manhood of the Church for definite, practical work in the extension of the Kingdom ... It may be described as a spirit rather than a finished organization. If the spirit of personal responsibility can be aroused it will organize for itself a suitable body.[36]

Three major conferences of churchmen were organized between 1909 and 1914 with the express purpose of informing and mobilizing the laity in the cause of reform. In 1909, Canada's Missionary Congress included addresses on home missions and reform work as well as foreign missions. In 1913, the Presbyterians held a large Pre-Assembly Congress in Toronto where such American social gospellers as Graham Taylor of the University of Chicago joined Canadian reformers in urging support for moral and social reform. Another famous American social gospeller, Charles Stelzle of the Presbyterian Church, North, was a keynote speaker at the Social Service Congress in Ottawa in 1914. The proceedings of all three congresses were printed and distributed across the country.[37]

Throughout this period of organization and mobilization, the analysis of city conditions was becoming more sophisticated. Several members of Shearer's Board had studied in the United States under leaders of the progressive movement there. W. J. Knox had spent a year at Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, the main centre of the progressive movement in American education.[38] William Lyon MacKenzie King had studied in Chicago where he had worked with Jane Addams at Hull House, the foremost of the American settlements. King has been described during these early years of his career as "one of a new breed of social scientists who were appearing in many parts of North America, filled with the desire to find the means of resolving the tensions of industrial society."[39] Their approach was characterized by carefully gathered information, professional planning, and a rational, efficient use of resources with scientific expertise. This efficient bureaucracy of experts was emerging as a counterpart to groups within the commerce and industry. Its guiding principles were

expansion, efficiency, economy and expertise. Such an approach on the part of a Church body attracted the support of business interests whose well-being would be served by the reforms and work proposed.[40] While Shearer's Board did not introduce this approach to the Church, it was a major vehicle for its application and acceptance in Church work.

The need to educate Canadians in the "danger" and "duty" associated with the problem of the city, using carefully gathered information, led to the undertaking of a number of social surveys. In 1911 The Presbyterian warned of the danger of false civic pride that blinded people to the nature and extent of moral and social problems in their cities. To combat "the Cult of the White-Washed Fence", it advocated social surveys such as those conducted by William Booth in London, Rowntree in York, the Pittsburgh Survey in the United States and that compiled by Dr. Hastings on the slums of Toronto. Special mention was made of the Child Welfare Exhibit in Kansas City.[41] The surveys that were undertaken were sponsored by the Presbyterian Brotherhood and conducted in co-operation with the Methodist Church. The published results were aimed at informing and mobilizing opinion in the cities surveyed to improve the conditions found.

In a further attempt to educate the public, both the Presbyterian Board and the Moral and Social Reform Council of Canada published comprehensive reading courses on social problems and the social sciences. The Presbyterians had engaged MacKenzie King and O. D. Skelton (then Sir John A. MacDonald Professor in Political and Economic Science at Queen's University, Kingston) to advise in compiling these lists. The reading courses sought to provide access for the church as a whole to a cross-section of the scientific expertise that was then available on the problems faced by Church and nation. The Board undertook to provide these books at cost.[42]

The Toronto progressives, having learned from the theory and practice of those who faced urban problems in Great Britain and the United States and having recognized the failure of traditional methods,

led the Presbyterians in adopting the insights of the new social sciences and the experiments of social reformers in British and American cities. The settlement house was the institution that combined new theories and methods in a comprehensive approach to the problem of the city. In 1912, the Presbyterian Board of Moral and Social Reform established a chain of settlements that eventually included houses in Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver. St. Christopher House in Toronto served as the mother house and training centre for the chain. The settlements trained professional city workers, conducted detailed research into urban conditions and carried on a varied program of health services, education and evangelization geared to the needs of their inner city neighbourhoods. The complexity of urban problems, the need for professional workers, and, in the end, the demands on manpower at home and abroad during World War I made volunteer help channelled through traditional church institutions impractical for inner city work.[43]

As these preliminary observations suggest, much of the primary research into the response of Toronto Presbyterians to urban problems at the turn of the century remains to be done. Yet some tentative conclusions may be offered. First, the motivation of Presbyterian work in Toronto throughout the period from 1881 to 1912 was the preservation of the moral and social influence of Christianity. New ideas and techniques were adopted to that traditional purpose. Second, a multitude of influences from both sides of the Atlantic helped to shape the response of the Toronto progressives. However, the value they placed on social stability and the Scottish ties that remained dominant among Canadian Presbyterians moderated the influence of the more radical elements of the American social gospel. Finally, the Presbyterian progressives were as responsive as any group in Canadian society to the new social sciences and reform movements that sought to reshape Anglo-Saxon society in the late nineteenth century.

END NOTES

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4 Keith H. Markell, "Canadian Protestantism against the background of urbanization and idustrialization in the period from 1885 to 1914", (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1971).

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6 The term "progressives" is used in the sense outlined by Richard Allen, op.cit., p.17. "Between conservatives and radicals was a broad centre party of progressives, holding the tension between the two extremes, endorsing in considerable measure the platforms of the other two, but transmuting them somewhat in a broad ameliorative programme of reform."

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[24] J.F. McCurdy, The Life and Work of D.J. MacDonnell, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1897), pp.287-309.

[25] The Westminster (Toronto), June 14, 1902.

[26] The Presbyterian (Toronto), March 28, 1903.

[27] The Presbyterian (Toronto), Nov. 14, 1903.

[28] Ibid.

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[34] The Presbyterian (Toronto), Mar. 14, 1907.

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PRESBYTERIAN WOMEN AND THE INDIANS

by

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In books with such titles as Anna and the Indians and Frances and the Crees the Canadian writer Nan Shipley has narrated the adventures of several Methodist women who devoted their lives to some form of missionary service among the Indians of Canada, and I suspect that she provided the suggestion that I unconsciously picked up in proposing a label for this paper. The story I have to tell is considerably less packed with dramatic incident, although I hope that it will not be without interest. I propose not to describe the work of Presbyterian women missionaries, or even to assess its effectiveness, but rather to discuss how the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Western Section) came to sponsor such a large share of Presbyterian work in this field.

That the contribution of Presbyterian women to Indian missions was unusually significant is not open to doubt, although one would scarcely guess its extent from the few references to it in the annual reports of the Foreign Mission Committee. My curiosity about the topic was aroused, indeed, by coming across a statement by Dr. Andrew B. Baird in 1895 that for several years the members of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society

have borne the entire cost of that part of the work which is

especially directed to women and children, and this, since it includes the building and maintenance of schools, the payment of the salaries of matrons and teachers, and similar expenses, has amounted to about two-thirds of the Committee's whole revenue. [1]

The importance of their role is underlined by the fact that Presbyterians, more than any other denomination, concentrated their efforts among the Indians upon educational work.

The women of other denominations responded with equal alacrity to appeals for their involvement in Indian missions, and comparison of actual contributions is made difficult by different methods of accounting. The Methodist Woman's Missionary Society, formed in 1881, was involved from its inception and thus anticipated its Presbyterian counterpart.[2] By 1911-12 its givings to this branch of the work were roughly two-thirds of those of the Presbyterian W.F.M.S.[3] The Women's Auxiliary to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, formed in 1893 and affiliated in 1902 with the Missionary Society of the Canadian Church, gave priority to Indian work from the start and was pressed to increase its support as the Church Missionary Society gradually withdrew its aid to Canada. By 1912 it may have been contributing as much as its Presbyterian counterpart.[4] Methodist contributions were almost entirely directed to a few institutions in British Columbia, however, while Anglican support was scattered over many phases of an enterprise that was in total bulk much larger than that of either Methodists or Presbyterians. Of neither Anglican nor Methodist society could have been said what the Board of Home Missions conceded when it took over responsibility in 1913, 'To the W.F.M.S. must

be given the credit for the success that has been attained in this branch of the work.'[5]

The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society came into being at a meeting of women called together on 17 February 1876 at the request of the Foreign Mission Committee of the newly formed Presbyterian Church in Canada.[6] Professor William MacLaren of Knox College has been credited with inspiring its formation,[7] and the wives of Knox faculty members were prominent from the outset on its board of management. American precedents must have been very much in mind, for on 2 February 1877 the society invited the president of its American counterpart to address its first annual meeting and on 7 May it instituted a long-continued practice of exchanging visitors with the Woman's Board of Foreign Missions of the North West United States, apparently a midwestern body. At first the society was designated the 'Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of Toronto', but after the formation of auxiliaries elsewhere it was allowed to style itself as of 'the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Western Section)'.[8]

The constitution of the society contained some definite restrictions. It was to be auxiliary to the Foreign Mission Committee, which was to make appointments and allocate money in all fields while the W.F.M.S. would raise money and seek to recruit 'female labourers'.[9] Funds were to be used for 'work among women and children in heathen lands' or for the support of female missionaries, and for no other purposes. At first the society was exclusively concerned with work in India, where it supported two women missionaries under the

American Presbyterians before the Presbyterian Church in Canada became formally involved. The provisions of its constitution reflected conditions in that country, where women were segregated in zenanas and thus approachable only by women missionaries, but they were carried over into other fields as the work of the society expanded.

Indian work in the Canadian northwest from its inception in 1866 was the responsibility of the Foreign Mission Committee. There was, however, no suggestion when the society was inaugurated or for some years thereafter that the W.F.M.S. might include it within the range of its operations, although the opening of a Presbyterian field in Formosa was quickly followed by society support for it. In 1879 Lucy Baker became the first Presbyterian woman missionary to minister to the Indians, but she went to Prince Albert as a missionary of the committee and not of the society. It was evidently felt either that despite their connection with the F.M.C. Indian missions were not quite foreign enough or that the pattern of segregation that was held to justify a special role for women in India and Formosa did not exist among the Indians. This situation was to change so quickly, and yet so inconspicuously, that by 15 April 1885 the board of management could state as its policy that 'efforts in the future as in the past shall be directed to the evangelization of women and children in heathen lands, including our own Indians of the North West'.

Expansion of missionary interest was, in the main, a natural and spontaneous process. A regular feature of early

meetings of the board of management was the reading of missionary letters, and while correspondence from India held the place of honour there was from the outset evidence of keen interest in reports from the New Hebrides and Trinidad missions of the Eastern Section of the church, as well as in occasional letters from American missionaries in such countries as Ceylon and Turkey. In a way it is surprising that the first letter from the northwest, the beginning of a series by George Flett of Okanase, appeared only on 5 November 1878. Even in this correspondence one may suspect some deliberate attempt to involve the W.F.M.S. more deeply, for it was instigated by Mrs. George Bryce of Winnipeg, wife of a professor at Manitoba College who frequently advised the Foreign Mission Committee on Indian matters and herself the first woman president of the Manitoba Historical Society.[10] In any case it must have had some effect, for it was reported to have 'directed our thoughts and prayers into new and important channels'.[11]

Two personal contacts during the early 1880s may have given at least marginal encouragement. On 1 November 1881 a monthly meeting was addressed by Miss Emma Baylis, a Montreal Congregationalist who had worked among the fishers of Labrador before transferring her dedicated although somewhat neurotic energies to the Ojibwas along the north shore of Lake Huron.[12] She was noted as having 'aroused much interest and sympathy' and, perhaps significantly, as being known already to some of the ladies. Then at the annual meeting of 12 April 1883 a delegate of the newly formed Methodist Woman's Missionary Society brought not only greetings

but an account of work among various peoples including 'Indians on the confines of Alaska'. It would not be surprising if the effect were to stimulate Presbyterian women to emulate their efforts.

The actual decision to become involved was taken without warning at the tag end of what must have been a long meeting on 5 June 1883 in the form of a resolution 'to state to the Foreign Mission Committee that we will gladly bear any expense in connection with the children of the Indians in our North West under the care of that Committee and also that Mrs. Harvie {the corresponding secretary for foreign fields} correspond with Miss Baker at present teaching in Prince Albert'. This action was followed by such a long silence in the minutes that one might be tempted to regard it as stillborn, but such was not the case. On 6 November a letter was read from George Flett listing educational needs, and by the next year the society reported that it was aiding all schools in the northwest.[13] Thus without fanfare the W.F.M.S. entered wholeheartedly into a new field of labour.

A new type of aid was inaugurated in response to an appeal received on 7 October 1884 from the Rev. Hugh McKay for boxes of clothing for needy Indian families. This might not seem to women of the 1970s the most creative form of involvement, but there can be no doubt of its attraction for Victorian mothers and aunts. Reserves were allocated to presbyterials or auxiliaries, which set to work with a will and sent during the first year supplies valued at two thousand dollars.[14] This effort had the effect of drawing

a further flood of letters from the field, expressing profound gratitude but also in many cases attaching detailed statements of educational needs.

So far the W.F.M.S. was merely assisting work carried on by others, but on 4 August 1885 it was noted that Miss Isabella Rose of Woodstock was applying for appointment as a missionary of the society in the northwest and on 1 September that she had been accepted by the Foreign Mission Committee. Miss Rose, who was thus the society's first representative in this field, had already spent some time in the west and had acquired some knowledge of the Cree language. By the next year it was reported that other ladies were applying.[15] Meanwhile Lucy Baker, later described in an official history as 'our honored first missionary of the W.F.M.S. to the Indians'[16] had been in Prince Albert since 1879. On 1 September 1885 the society expressed renewed interest in securing her services, but she left the west for a time exhausted after the North-West Rebellion and appeared on the society's list of missionaries only in the 1888 Annual Report. Even then the lack of Indian students at the Nisbet Academy where she was teaching gave rise to questions. On 2 October 1887 the board agreed 'for this year' to pay salaries at the academy, but thereafter Miss Baker's name disappeared from the list for another two years.

Increased involvement led to more frequent contacts, which in turn stimulated further interest. Letters of thanks for clothing bundles began to outnumber those from India, especially after Miss McGregor, the society's most prolific

correspondent there, was summoned home as the result of personal difficulties with other missionaries. On 6 July 1886 Hugh McKay was present at a meeting of the board of management, and his possession of considerable personal charm was made evident by the solicitude thereafter shown for his school at Round Lake. Miss Rose began to correspond, calling attention to the 'touchingly painful lot of the Indian women and girls' (5 October 1886). Deepened interest suggested still greater involvement. On 7 April 1885 the society voted $600 out of its surplus to Indian work. Similar action was taken at the next two annual meetings, the sum voted on 5 April 1887 being $2,000 for school buildings at Round Lake.

On 7 June 1887 the W.F.M.S. agreed 'that the Foreign Secretary write to the F.M. Committee asking for the usual estimates for our work for the present year and stating that we will be glad to support all the schools under the care of our Church among the North West Indians, and will undertake to bear all the expense of maintaining the pupils at the school at Round Lake'. Although it is not altogether clear from the wording that the society intended to accept responsibility for the total support of all educational work among Indians, this interpretation seems to be assumed in all subsequent correspondence between the W.F.M.S. and the Foreign Mission Committee. With this resolution, therefore, our narrative may well come to an end, for later developments constituted simply the implementation of this decision. For some years it represented a hope rather than an actuality, and indeed the division of labour was never enforced with

precise accounting. By 1895, however, as we have noted, Baird was able to refer to this policy as one long taken for granted.[17] In 1908 the Indian work received approximately $16,000 from the society, $11,000 from the Foreign Mission Committee, and $14,000 from the Department of the Interior, indicating that the proportion given by the women had been whittled down by the transfer of some responsibility not to the church as a whole but rather to the government.[18]

In reading reports and minutes one is left with the distinct impression that they do not tell the whole story, that many decisions reached in camera were merely rubber-stamped by meetings, and indeed that some of the most important ones may have resulted from private conversations between husbands and wives. Nevertheless, the record contains enough clues to give us a fair understanding of the main factors that impelled the W.F.M.S. into an unintended line of work. In some ways these constitute the most interesting part of the story.

1st. Beginning as a group of women in Toronto who met monthly in conjunction with the board of management to hear missionary letters, the W.F.M.S. expanded rapidly in both membership and givings as branch auxiliaries were formed in other cities and then in congregations. Before long, money was pouring in much faster than was required for the society's initial commitments. Within the first ten years, indeed, the budget rose from $1,000 to $13,000.[19] The result was a growing surplus that enabled the society, gradually and indeed accidentally, to institute what was later to become a proudly self-conscious policy of budgeting

on the basis of money on hand rather than borrowing against expected revenue.[20] In the first expansive years the surplus was sometimes so great that it was felt necessary to authorize supplementary expenditures, as we have already noted for 1885, 1886, and 1887. During the 1880s the society thus had more money than it knew what to do with and was actively seeking new uses for its resources. The members of the Foreign Mission Committee, several of whom were husbands of women active on the board of the W.F.M.S., must also have been aware of this untapped source.

2nd. These early years coincided with a period of expanding opportunities for involvement in Indian education. A report by the Canadian journalist Nicholas Flood Davin in 1879 recommended that the government should embark on a program of promoting industrial and other schools for the newly settled Indians of the plains and added, significantly, that contracts should be made with the churches to provide them.[21] The Presbyterians, with fewer commitments to existing mission stations than some other denominations, were in an unusually favourable position to take advantage of the opportunity thus offered. In 1882 William MacLaren, the convener of the Foreign Mission Committee, visited most of the Indian missions in company with Hugh McKellar, who had been Nisbet's successor at Prince Albert. Their report suggested no new global policy, but its general tone was that of a call to build new schools and enlarge existing ones, to hire additional teachers, and to seek out new areas of work.[22]

In 1883 the committee sought government aid for Indian schools through a strong subcommittee that included the Honourable Alexander Morris, former lieutenant-governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories.[23] In 1885, in the wake of the North-West Rebellion, it took the further step of resolving that 'the mission work in the North-West be extended as rapidly as possible consistently with economy and efficiency'.[24] Here were tempting prospects for a society with money to spend.

3rd. We must not forget that the W.F.M.S. was aware of having a special mandate for work among women and children. The society saw their needs as justifying its separate existence, and there are hints that it occasionally suspected the Foreign Mission Committee of treating its contributions merely as subsidies for its regular work. On 5 December 1882 it asked pointedly, in relation to India and Formosa, whether all of its money was being used in fact for work among women and children. The education of Indian children met the requirements of the W.F.M.S. constitution, especially since unlike its Anglican counterpart the society had no prejudice against work among boys. The presence of Lucy Baker in the west may have been a further predisposing factor, for the other purpose of the society was to support women missionaries. It may not have been without significance that the initial resolution to participate in Indian work was accompanied by a decision to enter into correspondence with her. The society also liked the satisfaction of paying in full for the work it sponsored, and 7 February 1882 was one of

several occasions on which it sought estimates of the total cost of the work for which it was responsible. Once involved in Indian education, therefore, it preferred to undertake its entire support.

4th. The W.F.M.S. was frequently subjected to the criticism that it was diverting money from the regular schemes of the church and was under constant pressure from some of its members to extend its charter to include home missions. Evidence of sensitivity to this criticism comes mainly from later decades, when presidents' addresses devoted considerable time to charges that even included a lack of Canadian patriotism, and on such occasions the extent of involvement in Indian missions furnished a ready answer.[25] It may not be fanciful, however, to see some connection between the beginning of Indian work and an agitation in the Ottawa branch that came to a head on 3 June 1884 in an appeal to the society to counteract the success of Roman Catholic agents in the northwest. Certainly in the following year there was a minor flood of requests from auxiliaries for greater efforts in Canada. As auxiliaries were formed in western Canada, too, there was spontaneous local interest in Indian missions; the school at Portage la Prairie was founded by an independent women's society there. This reluctance to see so much of the society's money going abroad may, at any rate, help to account for a later statement (3 July 1898) that missions among the Indians were 'popular with our ladies'.

5th. This last statement is, however, susceptible of another explanation. Supporters of missions have argued for

many years the relative merits of a unified budget and local choice of projects to be supported, and the issue is by no means settled yet. The W.F.M.S. insisted firmly on centralized control, urging that only thus could money be allocated fairly to different branches of the work, but the good ladies of Toronto were unable to prevent grumbling in the boondocks. The logistics of packing and mailing boxes for the Indians were such, however, that there seemed to be no feasible alternative to assigning individual reserves to particular auxiliaries and presbyterials. Local groups thus were given the personal contacts with the field they craved, and in many cases correspondence with the local missionary ensued. These contacts were clearly not responsible for the society's involvement in Indian work, for they began only after the crucial decision had been made. They must have done a good deal to stimulate and sustain interest, however, and to encourage the society to expand its original bridgehead.

'The Presbyterian Church maintains almost as many industrial boarding schools as all the others put together - and undoubtedly spends more of her own money in the work of Indian education than is spent by any other church in the Northwest, Protestant or Catholic.'[26] This boast, which dates from 1891, could not have been made apart from the major contribution of the W.F.M.S. One cannot help wondering whether this society, looking about in 1883 for ways of putting a little extra money to the most effective use permitted by its constitution, realized the magnitude of the commitment that would eventually result. If not, it

never showed signs of regret but instead took a more and more active part in the work. In 1896 it appointed a separate secretary for the northwest, Mrs. Cecilia Jeffrey, and later it named an additional secretary for British Columbia. Even before that time its secretaries had instituted a practice of occasional visits to the missions,[27] and out of these ultimately came far-reaching recommendations to the Foreign Mission Committee. Begun as a mere auxiliary to a male committee that made all appointments and allocated all money, the W.F.M.S. became, in large part because of its involvement in Indian missions, a powerful body that initiated projects and had a good deal to say about their operation.

NOTES

1. Andrew B. Baird, The Indians of Western Canada (Toronto: Canada Presbyterian, 1895), p. 28.

2. 1st Annual Report of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Canada, 1881-82, p. 13.

3. It reported $19,117.20, but from this one must subtract $6,798.50 in government grants to the institutions it supported, 31st Annual Report of the W.M.S., Methodist Church, Canada, 1911-12, pp. xx, xxi. The Presbyterian figures for this year were $14,300.79 for the northwest and $6,335.92 for British Columbia, 36th Annual Report of the W.F.M.S., 1911-12, p. 89.

4. Roughly $13,000 may be inferred from a list of items that cannot all be clearly identified, but this includes only money spent in dioceses other than those in which it was raised, 1st Year Book of the W.A. to the M.S.C.C., 1912, end page.

5. Acts and Proceedings of the 39th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1913, appendix, p. 6.

6. Minutes, Board of Management of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Western Section), United Church Archives. Reference will be made to these minutes, without footnotes, by date of meeting.

7. Andrew Thomson, The Life and Letters of Rev. R.P. MacKay, D.D. (Toronto: Ryerson, 1932), p. 63.

8. Minutes of the Foreign Mission Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Western Section), United Church Archives, 16 April 1878.

9. 1st Annual Report, W.F.M.S., 1877, p. 23; 2nd Annual Report, 1878, p. 11.

10. Priscilla Lee Reid, 'The Role of Presbyterian Women in Canadian Development', in Enkindled by the Word (Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, 1966), p. 116.

11. 3rd Annual Report, W.F.M.S., 1879, p. 20.

12. Emma Baylis' diary, 1872-85, is in the United Church Archives.

13. 8th Annual Report, W.F.M.S., 1884, p. 3.

14. 9th Annual Report, W.F.M.S., 1885, p. 22.

15. 10th Annual Report, W.F.M.S., 1886, p. 120.

16. The Story of Our Missions (Toronto: W.M.S. of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1915), p. 270.

17. A settled policy that the W.F.M.S. should be responsible along with the government for education, while the Foreign Mission Committee should look after evangelistic work on the reserves, is also noted in the 20th Annual Report, W.F.M.S., 1895-6, p. 37.

18. Acts and Proceedings of the 34th General Assembly, 1908, appendix, p. 182.

19. 1st Annual Report, W.F.M.S., 1877, p. 22; 11th Annual Report, 1887, p. 104.

20. By 1887, e.g., revenue was more than $3,000 in excess of estimated expenditures, 11th Annual Report, W.F.M.S., 1887, p. 108.

21. Nicholas Flood Davin, 'Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds, Ottawa, 14 March 1879, to the Right Honourable the Minister of the Interior', p. 13.

22. Minutes of the F.M.C., 23 May and 17 October 1882.

23. Ibid., 20 September 1883.

24. Ibid., 18 June 1885.

25. 18th Annual Report, W.F.M.S., 1893-4, pp. 16, 21; 25th Annual Report, 1900-1, p. 18; 26th Annual Report, 1901-2, p. 18f.

26. The Western Missionary, August 1891, p. 87.

27. 19th Annual Report, W.F.M.S., 1894-5, p. 21; Acts and Proceedings of the 24th General Assembly, 1898, appendix, p. 180.

THE CANADIANS IN NIGERIA:1954-1967

Geoffrey Johnston

For over a hundred years the Presbyterian Church in Canada paid no attention to Africa. The initial missionary thrust in 1846 was to the New Hebrides. In the 1860s the Trinidad mission and the first of three fields among the Chinese were opened. In the 1870s came the first of two operations in India and last but not least Korea at the end of the century. On the eve of Union the Presbyterians had over 200 missionaries abroad, exclusive of wives, 210 in the Orient and 20 in the West Indies.

The reshuffling that followed the crisis of 1925 did not change the pattern. Of the original Presbyterian fields only a handful, Formosa, Guyana, Gwalior and part of Indore remained with the church. On the basis of two dissident missionaries, Jonathon Goforth and Luther Young two new missions were started, one in China and the other among the Koreans in Japan. Finally, at the end of the Second World War the church joined forces with the Church of Christ in China in Yunnan. The Manchuria Mission did not survive the war and the last of the Yunnan missionaries left in 1950. The church was almost back to where it had been in 1926. Only the Japan mission survived of the post union ventures.

The fifties were boom years in Canadian Christendom; the church had energy to spare after the closing of its China work and Africa appeared as a potential alternative. But the decision to enter Nigeria was almost entirely fortuitous. It began at an ecumenical conference in Germany, in conversations between Laura Pelton of the WMS Western Division and her counterparts in the Church of Scotland. By early 1953 they were talking about locations and Nigeria was a chose jugée. At this point the discussions came to the attention of the General Board of Missions, the principal mission agency of the church.

The General Board was in a state of flux. Its Overseas Secretary, W.A. Cameron had left the office to become Moderator prior to retiring. In the interim his work was being shared by J.A. Munro, Secretary for Home Missions and G. Deane Johnston the Chairman. Johnston persuaded the WMS to wait until he could bring the General Board into the conversation and make the venture a project of the whole church. In 1954 he proposed to the General Assembly that the Canadian church enter into a cooperative arrangement with the Church of Scotland for a period of five years, at which time the situation would be reviewed. After a deferral and a sharp debate the motion carried. Clarence Pitts, an Ottawa layman and one of the most articulate of the critics came across to Johnston when the vote was announced " Deane," he said, " I think you're crazy, but I think you're right." (1) In these auspicious circumstances the church became involved in a country about which it knew little or nothing, an involvement which would bring it more public notoriety than any other mission.

The Presbyterian Church of Nigeria had begun when a party of Scottish missionaries and Jamaican auxiliaries dropped anchor before Calabar in 1846. The church made slight progress in the nineteenth century, but the trauma of the British conquest shortly after 1900 created the conditions for growth. For twenty years the church grew by leaps and bounds until it was well established on both sides of the Cross River, at the mouth of which is the city of Calabar, the original seat of the mission.

The boom years between 1900 and 1920 were followed by a period of consolidation which did not end until after the Second World War. By

1945 the church had a network of congregations and schools up the Cross River almost as far as the Cameroon border, a comprehensive post-primary institution in Calabar offering secondary school courses, teacher training and trades, a small secondary school in Calabar, a part share in a teacher training college for women, two hospitals, two leper colonies and a membership of about 12,000. In the early fifties a number of schemes, some in operation and some well on in the planning stage began to put a heavy strain on the missionary staff. A theological college had been established in cooperation with the Anglicans and Methodists. Hitherto the Presbyterians could train ministers or not, depending on their staff and priorities, but once committed to a joint college they had a moral obligation to supply one third of the staff. Hope Waddell, their comprehensive school in Calabar was trying to get a Higher School, or university entrance programme started, with consequent heavy demands for graduate staff. Negotiations for a well equipped training hospital to be run in cooperation with the Anglicans and Methodists were well advanced, and although the Presbyterians firmly refused to commit themselves to providing personnel they were clearly taking the project seriously. A secondary school for girls had recently been established in cooperation with the Methodists. None of these schemes were new, but as they came to maturity they meant a sharp increase in the number of missionaries required and the Church of Scotland was having trouble meeting its existing committments. Contrary to the tradition I heard as a young missionary the Church of Scotland Mission was not in danger of collapse; it simply could not keep up with its own creativity or the growth of the country.

Between the end of 1954 and the outbreak of war in 1967 the Canadian church put seventeen people into Nigeria, plus wives, plus two couples on government service but recognized as missionaries. In the peak years, 1964 and 1965 there were fourteen missionaries. But the most important appointment of all was the first, that of E.H. Johhson to be Secretary of the General Board of Missions.

Johnson had been a Manchuria missionary before the war, and in the forties the organizer of the Missionary Education department in Canada. Before becoming Overseas Secretary he had been with the Student Volunteer Movement in New York. More than any other man he brought the Presbyterian Church into the post Tambaram era. His most obvious accomplishment in the ten years after his appointment was the dismantling of the Mission Council system in the older Presbyterian fields. In Nigeria he found this process well under way, and he also found a competent Scottish staff who were quite capable of managing the routine of missionary operations. With routine and constitutional questions out of the way he was free to put his mind on the newer problems before the church and the three which struck him as the most important were youth work, theological education and nurses' training. (2) We may look at each of these in turn.

The first appointments to Nigeria had been by the WMS, two young women, Agnes Gollan and Joan Rochement, who had arrived in the country late in 1954. A little over a year later Johnson and Laura Pelton had both visited Nigeria and come back very unhappy with what the girls were doing. (3)

C.H. Denham, a veteran women's worker had simply taken them into her activities as the chief organizer of the women's work, teaching classes of various sorts in the traditional pattern. Johnson therefore recommended that the Board " approve the plan for the two women now on the field to give their major time to work among senior girls." (4)

It was not an entirely new idea. Youth work had been a subject of discussion in Presbyterian circles for some years but until the arrival of the Canadian women little was done about it. The problem was straightforward; the church had begun as a network of classes for religion and literacy. As the church matured church and school began to go somewhat separate ways. As government interest in education grew the system became more and more secular so that few of the thousands of children who went through the schools became church members. (5) In 1956 the two women attended an ecumenical course for youth leaders and the woman who ran it, a Canadian from the United Church, was of the opinion that the CGIT programme could be adapted for Nigerian use. (6)

The key decisions were thus taken in 1956 but the usual delays set in. The two women were due for leave and Miss Rochemont stayed home to get married. Agnes Gollan taught school for a few years until another woman could be appointed and a house organized at a place called Ohafia. The new companion turned out to be Dorothy Bulmer, a recent graduate with a talent for music who arrived early in 1959. From that time things began to move ahead; the Christian Girls Club was under way in 1961.

The CGC was a tremendous success. It specialized in the ethical and spiritual nurture of girls between ten and fifteen. From the beginning it was a church organization, entirely independent of the schools and shaped by the ideas of the Nigerian constituency. The Canadians relied heavily on the support of teachers and ministers, and because they supported the programme it became one of the more permanent **contributions** of the Canadians. By 1966 it was well established with fifty-three groups a leaders' manual, programme, uniform and pattern of leadership training.(7)

Shortly after it had been decided to send the two women into girls' work the Board received an application from E.F. Roberts indicating an interest in youth work. Roberts arrived in June 1957 and spent the next two years finding his feet. He taught for a while in Duke Town Secondary School, partly because the school needed a graduate and partly because he wanted direct contact with Nigerian adolescents. During 1958 he began youth work proper starting cautiously with what was already in operation, the Sunday Schools, working with present and prospective Sunday School teachers. Within a year he had recohized that before he could get any kind of programme established in the churches he had to show it was possible. (8) On his return to Nigeria early in 1960 he took over a parish north of Calabar, intending to use it as a laboratory for new ideas. But he was not there very long; in January 1962 the Synod, recognizing his talents as an organizer, transferred him to the central office to become the chief figure in the Forward Movement, a concerted effort to develop the financial and spiritual resources of the church for the newly independent country.

But Canadian involvement in youth work was not yet finished. In 1963 Walter McLean, fresh from being President of the Student Council at the University of Toronto appeared on the scene. Synod sent him to Enugu, partly because a new church had just been started there, partly because a large number of post primary institutions could be found in the neighbourhood, but especially because forty miles away at Nsukka the new university was bursting at the seams. For almost four years McLean divided his time between the congregation, the university and the post primary institutions. In the university he soon became well known to both staff and students part of a team of Christians in and around the university trying to get something started in a new field. In the post primary schools his work was rather like that of a Methodist superintendent maintaining a steady diet of preaching in some thirty institutions.

Significant though the Canadian work among young people might have been it was not unique. Youth work had been a subject for discussion for some years before the Canadians arrived. Though the Canadians provided a good deal of the leadership they were not alone. Parallel to the rise of the CGC and the work among students a youth movement grew up in the church from Nigerian initiative. Young men like Nwosu Udoh, first as a student teacher and then as a theological student put in long hard hours organizing a network of youth groups where there had been none before. A good start had been made, but still when the church adopted a development plan it was still necessary to make a system of Christian Education independent of the schools a major priority. Unfortunately the exigencies of the emergency put the programme on the shelf.

The second of Ted Johnson's concerns was theological education and a related problem, the interpretation of the Christian faith in African conditions. In this area the Canadian contribution was quite reasonable.

During the nineteenth century theological education was organized in the missionaries' spare time, through an annual class and whatever in-service training a man could give his assistants. The system produced a number of outstanding ministers, but their numbers were few, only eight all told by the First World War. In the middle of the war the missionaries found they had too much to do and for the first time in twenty years began to take theological education seriously. The new system was a one man college at Arochuku. The course lasted four years, or two missionary tours, and the students went off on practical work while the tutor was on leave. For the time it was not a bad arrangement, but by the late thirties it was becoming clearly inadequate. Just before the Second War the Presbyterians proposed a joint college with the Anglicans and Methodists east of the Niger. Difficulties within the Anglican church held the plan up for some years, but it finally went ahead in 1948, and the college moved to its new quarters in Umuahia in 1950.

The initial class had a strong contingent of Presbyterians, most of whom went on to give distinguished service to the church. But in the 1950s recruitment went into a prolonged drought; candidates were few and frequently of dubious quality. In the middle of this drought Ted

Johnson appeared on the scene, full of orthodox ideas about the importance of a well trained ministry. As early as 1954 he was in correspondence with the church on the subject.

The Board minute of 1956 setting out the guiding principles for Canadian involvment spoke both of the provision of staff and the awarding of scholarships. But it was not until the Scottish tutor was forced to retire on medical grounds at the end of 1963 that I was transferred to Trinity College and the Canadian contribution to theological training began. Two years later I was joined by Roy Gellatly, who remained on the staff until his evacuation early in the war.

The evidence for the contribution Gellatly and I made to the college is scanty. We did our share but certainly no more than our British or Nigerian colleagues. The leadership of the college was in the hands of the senior Anglican and Principal, P.J. Ross, a veteran school master with a real concern for the ministry of the supporting churches. Year after year his meticulous annual reports chronicled the progress of the college and prodded the churches into recruiting younger and better qualified men. During these years the quality and the quantity of the Presbyterian candidates certainly improved, but for that we can claim no credit. (9)

Perhaps the one unusual contribution we made to theological education is one which, after ten years, is still unfinished. I had begun the teaching of African church history while at Trinity and soon discovered the almost complete lack of useful sources. In 1966 therefore I began a serious study of the Presbyterian Church of Nigeria, completing the first version of the manuscript at almost exactly the same time as communications with the church were cut off by the Biafran secession. I will not trouble you with the unfortunate history of that manuscript; suffice it to say that a second, shorter and simpler version, is now in the hands of the readers.

The scholarship programme of the Canadian church was of greater significance. Overseas study for ministers had been discussed as early as the forties, but not until 1957 did the first man go off to Scotland for a one year study programme. The second man, Nwachuku Eme, came to Canada in 1958 at Canadian expense. He left behind him one of the few serious research papers we have from a Nigerian and returned in 1959 to become the Clerk of Synod, a position he held throughout the difficult years of war and reconstruction.

The Scottish missionaries had no difficulty with a one year course which they insisted, ostensibly on the basis of a Synod debate, should be as much a practical experience as an academic training. (10) When Ted Johnson suggested a degree course the Clerk of Synod, A.G. Somerville, replied that it would be difficult to say no if the right man appeared, but that he had serious doubts as to whether a graduate would stay in the ministry. Ministers' salaries were almost derisory compared to those of teachers, to say nothing of lawyers, and the

pressures of the extended family meant that graduate ministers normally went into teaching. (11) By 1957 the question was as it were no longer academic. A man with university entrance qualifications was already in Trinity and in 1960 Inya Ude came to Toronto on a course that led eventually to a double degree in Arts and Theology, the first man in the Presbyterian Church to be so qualified.

Ude was but the first in a series. In the next few years two more went to university at Canada's expense, one in Canada and one in Nsukka. Ogbu Kalu, the man who came to Canada went on to take a PhD in history. But they were not the only ones. In 1958 Akanu Ibiam, a leading elder and long time advocate of higher education prodded the church into adopting a comprehensive scholarship programme financed by a contribution of 2d in the pound from everyone on the church's payroll, including a few thousand teachers. Between 1959 and 1965 the church awarded forty-two scholarships including a number to ministers. Three men went to Scotland on one year courses, a fourth went to take a degree in Edinburgh and a fifth to Nsukka. If the Canadian scholarship programme made a useful contribution to the church it was because the church was ready for it. In the same way the staff at Trinity did not have to push for higher standards; all we had to do was support the Principal.

As for Christian faith and African life the one Canadian initiative was buried in the political confusion of 1967. The development plan listed as one of the priorities for the church " the development of an articulate body of Christian opinion which can speak with knowledge and authority on the problems of the country". The suggestion was mine, and it went to a committee of which Walter McLean was chairman. The committee recommended a series of pamphlets but the war precluded any advance in this direction. It is worth noting however, that when I was in Nigeria a year ago the principal subject of theological discussion seemed to be the relation of Christian faith to traditional African religion. Ted Johnson's only fault was to be twenty years ahead of the church.

The third of the priorities established in 1956 was the provision of a sister tutor, a nurse qualified to train nurses. Nurses' training was a new venture for the Presbyterian church, an idea which began to take shape in the forties and was well established by the time the Canadians appeared on the scene. In the early days the only senior person in the Presbyterian hospitals was the doctor and he, often with the assistance of his wife, trained people in the various aspects of hospital routine. The system worked reasonably well in the rather simple medical conditions of colonial Nigeria but the coming of more sophisticated medicine and the nationalist movement put the older practice out of date. Akanu Ibiam, the only Nigerian doctor on the staff pushed hard for the training of nurses at Itu hospital and was active in the negotiations which led to the founding of the new hospital at Umuahia, in cooperation with the Methodists and Anglicans. This new hospital, known as Queen Elizabeth, was intended to be the major Christian teaching hospital east of the Niger, and it was for this new establishment that the tufor was required.

The Canadians never found a sister tutor. The Scots provided the one at Itu and the other churches did the teaching at Umuahia. The Canadian contribution came in quite different and quite unexpected ways. Four people were recruited, two nurses, one at Itu and the other at Uburu, a pharmacist and a general practitioner. The two nurses turned in solid routine work, but the pharmacist and the doctor were deeply involved in some of the more creative and more vexing aspects of Nigerian medicine in the 1960s.

Sam Harder, the pharmacist and his wife, also a pharmacist, arrived in Umuahia in January 1961. The hospital had been without a pharmacist for some time before the Harders arrived and most of the first year was spent putting the dispensary on a sound basis. The second year saw the beginning of their more creative work, the central buying scheme and the manufacture of drugs.

By Nigerian standards Queen Elizabeth was a large and well equipped hospital. It was also located in the middle of the old Eastern Nigeria. Harder took up an idea invented by his predecessor and became the sole purchser for drugs, both for Queen Elizabeth and for a number of country hospitals associated with the supporting churches. In this way he became a major customer able to negotiate substantial savings by buying in bulk. It may seem like a small thing, but for hospitals struggling to make ends meet under increasingly difficult circumstances it was a real boon. (12)

To an outsider the most intriguing aspect of Harder's work was his one room drug factory. Making his own medicines was an idea he had developed even before he left Canada, and as soon as he had the dispensary functioning and the central buying scheme in operation he taught one of his junior staff how to make some of the drugs in regular demand. In due course he was able to supply not only Queen Elizabeth but the country hospitals as well. (13) The only obstacle in the way of expanding this side of his work was time. One man, even with the assistance of his fully qualified wife could not manage the dispensary of a major hospital and run a small pharaceutical factory at the same time. Even though Queen Elizabeth was better financed than the country hospitals it could not manage the salary that would attract and hold a Nigerian pharmacist, much as Harder would have liked to have one.

Financial stringency brings us to the crisis in the country hospitals, in which Roy Ward, the Canadian doctor was deeply involved. Ward went to Uburu hospital in 1961, finding the place badly equipped and nearly bankrupt. By dint of hard work and rigorous economy he managed to put the hospital on its feet, but it was a painful process. Apart from the missionary staff the hospitals were financed by a fixed bed occupancy grant from the government and the patients' fees. As the cost of living went up so did the salaries of the junior staff and despite Sam Harder's ingenuity the cost of drugs went up faster than the cost of living. Because the government grant was relatively constant the only way to meet rising costs was by raising fees, for a clientelle whose annual income Ward estimated at $180 a year. The church pressed the government for more generous grants, but the government was also feeling poor. The enforced

parsimony of the missionary staff created an almost chronic staff crisis from 1964 to 1966, one of the more striking pieces of evidence for a conviction which had been growing in the doctors' minds for some time. The one doctor hospitals had reached the end of the road.

Every doctor knew that most of his patients were suffering from diseases which were either caused by or complicated by the environment, by malaria, malnutrition or intestinal parasites. Malaria could be treated by prophylactics but intestinal parasites required improved methods of handling water supplies and dealing with sewage, projects for engineers rather than doctors. Malnutrition required an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the traditional diet, an understanding which the doctors had neither the time nor the training to acquire. They had been trained in curative medicine and curative medicine took up all their time. Besides, the problem was so enormous it was difficult to see where to begin.

At this point the Dutch appeared. The dispute over Papua New Guinea led to the explusion of the Dutch from Indonesia, their main mission field, and they had at their disposal a number of doctors some of whom had had experience in rutal health. In 1961 the Nigerians were in correspondence with them about medical personnel and the man who eventually arrived was Herman Middlekoop. He introduced to the Nigerian church a procedure which specialized in one of the most vulnerable sections of the population, children under five, offering pre and post natal care, vaccinations and nutrition. By using partially trained staff and working out of village clinics he was able to expand enormously the amount of effective medicine a single doctor could provide. All the Presbyterian hospitals followed Middlekoop's example. By 1964 Ward had six clinics, served by a team consisting of the doctor, two nurses, a midwife and a dispenser all armed with advice, drugs and free powdered milk " A Gift of the People of the United States" (14)

In medicine as in so many other aspects of the church's life the Canadians functioned as part of a team. Harder's work in pharmacy was a contribution to a hospital run by British and Nigerian personnel; Ward took over a functiong hospital and worked in cooperation with the Scottish and Dutch staff. The same can be said of the other areas in which the Canadians became involved, the urban ministry and architecture.

With the partial exception of the trading states along the coast urban living was unknown in south eastern Nigeria until the coming of the British. When Port Harcourt in the Niger Delta was chosen as the terminus of the railway the economic life of the region shifted eastwards, away from the Cross River towards the Niger. But by the comity agreements the Presbyterians were concentrated in the Cross River valley. As the country developed the brightest young men drifted out of the Presbyterian area and settled in the new towns, Port Harcourt, Aba, Onitsha, Umuahia, Enugu and above all Lagos, the federal capital. Some even went as far away as northern cities like Kaduna and Zaria. But until the early fifties Presbyterian policy held that Presbyterians settling in the new towns should attach themselves to the churches they found there. Anything else would tend to " denominational rivalry and strife".

But during the fifties as Nigerian leadership became more confident and as the cities themselves grew by leaps and bounds, the traditional policy came under fire. In 1953 the worshipping communities in Aba and Umuahia were officially recognized and in 1956 they became a separate parish. But it was not until 1959 that traditional missionary resistance to opening churches in cities finally gave way. In March of that year a group of Presbyterians in Kaduna, capital of Northern Nigeria, asked Synod, as the legal holding body to take out a lease on a piece of land they had acquired for a church. Synod replied that they could only do so if they were recognized as an outstation of Duke Town church in Calabar, to which many of them belonged.

Much of the credit for this discreet but significant advance must go to Etim Onuk, the minister at Duke Town. He had been in touch with this group for some time, He advised them on the approach to Synod, and he spent many weary days on the train over the next few years helping them get established. When he reported progress at the 1960 Synod it was agreed that any group who wished to make application to Synod for recognition was free to do so.

It was a rouhdabout way of saying that the Presbyterians were about to open work in the major cities. Onuk immediately got in touch with people in Port Harcourt, Enugu and Lagos. In 1961 his informal inquiries gave way to an official committee charged with getting the new churches started. The problem was not finding Presbyterians but finding ministers with the experience and education felt necessary to minister to people many of whom had studied abroad and held senior positions in the civil service.

In the next few years the church recruited two Americans, one Scot and three Canadians for the city churches. From Canada came Walter McLean, whom we have already met. McLean was the first minister in Enugu and associate to both Ray Pedrotti, an American and Agwu Oji the Nigerian who followed Pedrotti. McLean's official position is a little misleading. Because of his close association with the congregation in its early years and because of his friendship with a number of its more prominent members he was very much a pastor in Enugu. He was also one of the leading advocates of drawing the city laymen into the service of the church as a whole. When the church embarked on a serious policy review in 1966, McLean was quick to involve as many of the Enugu and Lagos laymen as he could making, almost for the first time, the thinking of the educated laymen a significant factor in the life of the church. (15)

McLean's interests were not confined to Enugu. Early in his career he was in touch with the Presbyterians in Lagos doing some of the work which John Johnston took up after his arrival in Lagos in 1964. Unlike most of the Nigerian staff Johnston came to Nigeria with several years in the ministry behind him, in a suburban Ottawa church. In his two years in Lagos he set the congregation going and began an impressive building campaign. Unfortunately after a serious automobile accident in 1966 he was forced to return to Canada. Russel Hall, another veteran

make statements about the faith that were both Christian and African.

With the possible exception of Murray Ross the Canadian missionaries can be described as having made a significant contribution within an existing system. From the beginning, when it was decided that the Canadians would function as part of the Scottish Mission Council rather than set up a separate operation they were committed to partnership rather than cooperation. In medicine, in theological education, in youth work, in the city churches they were part of a team which included Scots, Dutch and Nigerians alike. The Canadian contribution to the Presbyterian Church of Nigeria was a classic example of partnership in mission.

From the very earliest days of missionary activity in Africa the development of indigenous churches was a settled objective. Missionaries might have been slow in actually relinquishing authority but the principle was not questioned. The Canadians came to Nigeria just as the process was reaching its conclusion. In 1960 the Calabar Mission Council, which had governed the church for the last sixty years was dissolved and its remaining functions handed over to the Synod. But the senior missionaries did not disappear with the Council. They remained in most of the key positions in church school and hospital. The partnership therefore was between the Canadians on the one hand, and an emerging Nigerian leadership and the Scottish establishment on the other. Because the Scots sat in most of the key offices missionary questions received due attention. Letters were answered reasonably quickly and arrived in a form that the Toronto office could handle. But because the Scots were still in power the real problems of partnership in mission were obscured. Real partnership occurs when the indigenous leadership is in full control, and when both sides understand the other's problems and priorities. Because the Nigerians, with one exception, were not involved in this administrative process they did not pick up this aspect of the church's life the way they picked up the congregations and the schools. In some churches this problem has been solved; an indigenous leadership does work effectively with its mission boards, but in Nigeria in the sixties the problems of partnership in mission were not yet recognized, let alone dealt with.

NOTES

1. Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1954, and conversation with G.Deane Johnston, February 1978.

2. Minutes of the General Board of Missions, March 1956. These minutes, with all the other manuscript sources cited in this article, can be found in the Board of World Mission deposit in the Presbyterian Archives, Knox College, Toronto.

3. Laura Pelton, Report (of her visit to Nigeria) February 28th, 1956.

4. GBM Minutes, 1956

5. E. H. Johnson, Record of a Journey, page 19. This little booklet is Johnson's report of his visit. It is also in the Presbyterian Archives.

6. W.B. Dalyrimple to E.H. Johnson, May 17th, 1956.

7. Agnes Gollan and Dorothy Bulmer," Paper Prepared for the Special Christian Education Committee", September 30th, 1966.

8. E.F. Roberts, Annual Reports, 1958, 1959.

9. M.R. Gellatly, Annual Report 1966.

10. A.G. Somerville to E.H. Johnson, May 28th, 1957.

11. A.G. Somerville to E.H. Johnson, August 27th, 1957.

12. S.H. Harder, Annual Report, 1964.

13. ibid.

14. Roy Ward, Annual Report 1964 and Elsie Taylor, circular letter November 1965. Elsie Taylor was the Canadian nurse at Uburu.

15. W.F. McLean to E.H. Johnson, 30th August 1966.

16. Minutes of the Overseas Sub Executive, General Board of Missions, May 1956.

17. M. Ross, Report, October 1963.

18. M. Ross, Annual Report, 1964.

SCOTLAND AND THE PULPIT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

by R. Morton Smith

In the usual consideration of Scottish History (which in English-speaking establishments occurs seldom, and in English educational establishments never) very little real thought is given to the underlying difference in society from the English. Scotland remained Celtic, and in many places still does. It is realized that Highlanders are Celts (and like other foreigners may, while patience lasts, be patronized by the benevolent), and so may be Romantic (whatever that means). But except in the Lothians, in the Merse, and to some degree in Fife, the substratum of the nation remained Celtic, whether Brythonic or Gaelic, and this fact should be remembered when considering both religious and political life.

Celtic culture is marked by a tremendous conservatism: thus for reconstructing Indo-European society of 3000 B.C., Ireland is a most important source, though our evidence only dates from 500-1000 A.D. So too, the Border Reivers of the sixteenth century represent among other things the old tradition of the cattle raid outside the tribal territory as a mark of manhood -- the same also applies to Highland turbulence. Socially the strongly hierarchical structure of Celtic society, dependent on birth, shows clearly in the autobiography of the eighteenth century divine, Jupiter Carlyle: distant connections on the male or distaff side are recorded of people only casually mentioned, and this information is expected to help the readers to understand the actors and the situation -- the

predisposition to obligation by even distant connection is recognized. In 1711 a woman in Balmerino walks round an oak post muttering a charm -- a degenerated relic of the sanctity of the old sacrificial post, the Indian yupa.

In the eighteenth century we have the last ripples of the Reformation, and the mediaeval religious situation is relevant to understanding. Much of the old Celtic feeling for religion underlay the mediaeval Catholic church. King and priest/druid were complementary allies in the old Indo-European/Celtic society, both contributing to the security of the tribe, and whatever the legal position might be under Roman or Feudalized law, the tribe/family expected to continue to enjoy the wealth of the land given to the priest/church; abbacies, bishoprics should be kept in the family. This is one factor in the 'corruption' of the late Catholic church in Scotland, in why the church did not have full control of its appointments; paradoxically the church got the whole odium of bad appointments due in large measure also to political pressure; presumably it was, as it is, easier and safer to blame an invisible devil against whom prejudice is a substitute for proof. Rome was far, and the king near, and in the tribal society the chief has the parents' a priori freedom from criticism, however he lose it later.

In the Indo-European and the old Celtic society sacred and secular were not distinct, and the religious or ascetic was not necessarily committed to morality. The acts that procured sainthood as handed down in tradition could be

rather strange in the Celtic world -- Brittany offers many examples. But the conception of sainthood was rather different: the Celtic saint was still trying, and had not yet received the PhD in holiness; one prayed for him, and not to him as to the mediaeval Roman saint -- the Celt had been conservative also in his Christianity, and the culdee, the Christian hermit, continued an old tradition, even if somewhat sublimated. Margaret Murray has pointed out that the persecution of witches in the seventeenth century can be looked on as the final attack of the church on paganism: the Roman church, which has never expected much of human nature, recognizing its frailties, had been content with symbiosis in obscurity, but the more intellectual Reformation demanded the end of evil. So the old paganism further degenerates into superstition during the eighteenth century, though we find the Kirk Session taking cognizance of sorcery as late as 1743 in Balmerino.

While there were undoubtedly holy men in our sense in late Dark Age/early Mediaeval Scotland, it is striking that there was only one Scottish mediaeval saint of the Catholic church, the Englishwoman Queen Margaret, who though highly admirable, got the honour for political reasons, her Romanizing of the Celtic church, which was certainly beneficial. But there is no evidence of a profoundly religious people in Scotland before the Reformation. There is the quota of religious for kirk and abbey, of crusaders and pilgrims; there was probably as much and as little religion as in most other places. But contrasting 1630 and 1430 two things are remarkable, the strong hold of religion, and the hatred of Rome.

The animus against Rome during and after the Reformation demands explanation in Scotland at least -- neither Catholic power of Spain or France was an enemy. The church had always been closely connected with national independence; one remembers Bishop Lamberton in Bruce's time, and this is still true under Cardinal Beaton. There were hardly two dozen martyrs, and as time went on, fewer Scots would ever have known Catholics, yet Rome is the abomination of the Scarlet Woman. (For that matter hardly any would have known a Moslem, yet Mahomet/Mahoun is a name of the Devil.) The wealth of the church was certainly one of the great sources of hatred against it, though it was not a source of atheism. On its poverty, it is reunited to the people. Nationalism was also doubtless a factor working against the Roman church just as it is a factor worrying to international movements today; but the protestants found themselves soon driven to internationalism, and insularity was never a national characteristic of the Scots. The Roman church may have aggravated its opponents by the obstinacy of its inexplicable survival, one result of which inexplicability was the lack of desire to understand it, which continues to this day. Rome had become useful,awful example by the eighteenth century. The physical indulgence of the pre-Reformation clergy provided good ammunition to the Reformers; this is the reassertion of the connection of religion with morality, which was not demanded in the pagan tradition. And sin became more serious, worthy of greater indignation, with the rejection of absolution by the confession; man must carry what he cannot loose. So the connotations of Rome or Papist

in the eighteenth century could be compared with those of Capitalist or Colonialism today: whatever they mean (which doen't matter much) these are bad things.

The deep pervasion of religion that occurred in the ordinary people between 1550 and 1620 (the contrast with old times being perhaps greatest in the Borders), is perhaps best explained as a thank-offering for peace. Three centuries of poverty and/or anarchy and insecurity had come to an end. And there might be a greater willingness to seriousness about life now that one could do something with it, and was not condemned to the round of sturt, strife and rapine.

But the reorganization of the church must also have had great importance. With the retaking of church and abbatial property by the noble families, and the abolition of bishoprics and hierarchy, the church could no longer tempt the ambition of younger sons of the nobility. These for some time could take military service abroad, if not for the Auld Alliance, then in the good cause of Protestantism -- and this may be another factor in the revulsion from Rome, that the 'enemy' had so often been Catholics. When the religious wars ceased they could turn in greater numbers to the law, and in the eighteenth century much of the best Scottish intellect was in that profession. The ministry had to be recruited from the non-noble, somewhere down towards the grass roots. There is perhaps a resurgence of the younger sons of gentry under the episcopal establishment of Charles II and James VII, for Carlyle notes a new wave of lower recruitment of a less cultured nature owing to the dearth of Presbyterians after the flight of James in 1690.

But with the comparatively small variations in stipend, there was no great move for promotion, and so the minister had to live with his people and know them; he had to work among them, and religion was therefore closely integrated into local society.

The artistic puritanism of Scotland does demand some explanation, at least after the inital period of destruction. There is the foreign example of Geneva and Holland, and there is the intellectual anti-artistic strain transferred from the now defunct monastic tradition, such as we can also find in Plato. But also, the mediaeval church, in partnership with princes, had the resources for conspicuous consumption, and its leaders, being very largely from the noble classes, had the education for it. While one would not discount the resentment of church wealth -- for envy is never absent -- and the anti-worldly strain is always potential in Christianity, the new leaders of the church did not come from, or (in Scotland) generally rise into the classes with money to throw about; and after the Reformation, the Scottish church did not have money to throw around either. The leaders were brought up in utilitarian, not artistic surroundings, and it may well be that a weekly wine bill for Communion would have been a severe strain on the finances of many country parishes in the seventeenth/early eighteenth centuries. Art is essentially a self-indulgence both of those who make it and those who buy it, and when want is never far away, it becomes a question of first things first -- an attitude preserved in Canada by the ex-poor till the Second War. Though there might be no doctrinal ground for

condemning fine vestments, the impoverished church, in fact the country, could not afford elaborate ritual, and made a virtue of necessity in its disapproval -- a disapproval made formidable by condemning luxury in religion as Papist. As in the modern world new governments officially more or less proletarian, retaining the guilt of murder (Oedipus), remain morbidly afraid of their destroyed predecessors and everything connected with them, so the spectre of Rome haunted the whole British Protestant world right down into the twentieth century, though nationalism probably precluded any real danger after 1600.

In a poor country the discipline of Puritanism eases the strains of society; a great many expensive things are not wanted by a great many people, therefore the competition for them is lessened. In our own society the chief reason for wage claims is the demand for equality of luxury and the inflationary element it only a consequence of that. But if the individual is not to desire the external, he is encouraged to depend rather on himself than things for happiness -- again compare our own society where we spend more and more for education, yet people are less and less able to amuse themselves, but need mass entertainment. Contentment therefore became a virtue in Scotland, that ennobled the poor. The distrust of luxury and sensuality is much resented by today's intellectual, and resented also for involving a discipline, and attracts severe censure as the cause of allegedly joyless life. But the puritanism by lessening desire and therefore the competition, also lessened ill-will, which is a necessity for a politically/power-oriented society. And it should be

remembered that the discipline of the Scottish life of the Presbyterian age was imposed quite as much or more from below than from above; however hostile the church might be to art (for which it gets a bad press), it produced democracy (for which the same critics give it no credit), and the democracy could work because of the preparation of discipline.

The enthusiasms of the seventeenth century continue into the eighteenth, even if they generally descend in the social scale. We have men like Thomas Boston and the Marrowmen, or movements like the Seceders and the Relief churches. The emotionalism continues among the poor; with the rise of the ex-poor and the widening horizons that their security and the general peace afforded, we find the official dominance of Moderatism, deplored by pure Zion. In those who had themselves or their fathers suffered the persecutions of the late Stuarts, such as Boston or the Erskines, one is impressed with the logical strength of the mind and the narrowness of the foundation: just as in the secular generation fine literature was essentially poetry, so to the religious, reading was basically religious reading; the outlook was still that of the mediaeval world with the important difference that on the abolition of monasticism the faithful had to accommodate, to work and live in the secular world. But Heaven was as real a goal as it had been in the Middle Ages. In the next generation, that of Alexander Carlyle, a tincture of secular culture is acceptable in the ministry, and this trend culminates in such men as Duncan of Ruthwell or Douglas of Galashiels, who at the end of the century were contributing

to the ecomomic betterment of their parishes. Through democracy the church offered social mobility, not perhaps into the high world, but to a status and respectability understandable to all.

Today our sympathies are very much with the Moderates or New Licht, and men like Thomas Boston are regarded with hostility, or at best as curious dinosaurs. The favourite propaganda line is that the normal issue from the pulpit was Hell-Fire. This was not absent. It may well have been less damaging than its modern counterpart, the horror film. But it was statistically probably much less dominant than is generally believed. Early in his career, even before he went to Simprim, Boston took the hint from a parishioner that he preached too much Hell, and it is better and more comforting (i.e. strenthening) to preach grace. Boston, like Billy Graham, had a respectable mind, and we do not augment our wisdom by not understanding his theological argument. Boston's language may be stronger than we like, and the eighteenth century divine was not cowed into being mealy-mouthed in the modern fashion for fear of giving offence. The premise is the corruption of human nature, which is based on experience. Imperfection is plain in every part of man, will, emotion and intellect. If God is goodness, it is impossible to be good except by God without being God or part of Him; therefore non-God, flesh or man, must be totally depraved, and virtue is by God's grace; man is totally dependent on God for virtue. Corruption deserves death in nature, and punishment for justice in man, and God has no obligation to it to do it good. Such

obligation as he has is to himself to be good. But since there is free-will, action on the part of man is necessary, and it is possible -- turn to God.

Two things are clear from this: with all the hell-fire, the religion was one of hope; grace was available, and it is important to accept it while we still can. Life was serious, and its purpose was not enjoyment; one was not born into this vale of tears with a right to earthly happiness -- spiritual can only be won. The corrupt had forfeited rights, therefore what was enjoyed was mercies, for which gratitude is in order -- a most unmodern message for us who declare we have rights, including that to enjoyment, therefore without obligation. Boston's creed gave a dynamic and code to society, which has not been produced by its opposite so much more comfortable in our sense, the essential, i.e. real goodness of man, the absence of sin,on which rights follow. Sin certainly took other forms, but they must have been less damaging to society in view of the progress in Scotland in the latter half of the eighteenth century and after.

Why was such a pessimistic and unflattering doctrine of humanity so popular? One answer must be that the material conditions of Scottish life in the eighteenth century discredited any hope of the earthly paradise, just as the material ease and prosperity of today makes such a paradise a human right. But there is another factor of importance, which is the second observation we should make: the presence of God prevents the outlook on man from being cynical.

The self-righteousness of the humanist has no way to escape from despising/condemning others only; while sinners can cooperate to the viability of society the one just man must rule. One need only read Boston or Erskine to realize that self-righteousness is not the key-note, and that they were as well aware of their own sinfulness, and as severe judges of it as of that of any of their flock. The preacher is thinking of God and his flock, not primarily of himself: he lived with them, and his standard of living might be very little higher. The minister had an excellent worm's-eye view of his congregation as well as an oversight. In the preaching, despite some homely illustration, remarkably little is said about the contemporary world. The emphasis is that we are not here for our own pleasure, but for a chance of salvation by grace. The Scot might have a guide conceit of himself, but there is a strong sense of sin and unworthiness underneath, of the mysterious omnipotence of the grace of God through our Lord, Jesus Christ -- meaningful words, not cliches, for we have here rather the religious enthusiasm of the Baroque, without its art; eighteenth century deism is not here.

The pervasiveness of the doctrine came from the thoroughness of the pastoral visitation and instruction. Its importance, performed by sincere people, comes out clearly in the lives of men like Boston or the Erskines. One doubts if Hitler's propaganda was more pervasive -- it was certainly not more beneficial; the writer's father still had the benefit of the

than doctrine, though in the intellectual way trivial things become matters of principle, e.g. in the Burgher/anti-Burgher controversy, and the sects, born in controversy, may split more than the main body. There is probably a psychological factor here: the Jews, Israel was a small nation, and even of them it was only a remnant that came up to standard. Scotland too was a small nation, yet for a time had almost succeeded with a copy of the most perfect Zion, Geneva. The fighting class ethic pervades Western intellectual culture also, and the death-wish will always leave some happy to be in embattled minority with more determination or obstinacy than reasonable hope: to be on the side of virtue (always under attack) satisfies this, since the assertion of truth is also the assertion of life. But the secessions have also one further result, that they must be self-supporting. The poor have to support their own clergy, and it is astonishing how they succeed in doing so: the small contribution comes into its own. This does a good deal to prepare the mood for financing the next century's social and missionary movements in the church.

The pulpit was an excellent vehicle for public announcements, and the position of the church as a social nucleus must not be forgotten. One could say that the church occupied the niche of the Police, with the difference that it operated on a philosophy that prevention is better than cure, and by its nature, with a doctrine that must always be a force for self-control also in society. And in view of the turbulence and violence of the remembered past people might have been more willing to accept the social interference, the police role,

they also being among the police. But also the proximity of heaven justified restrictions on humanity basically evil or prone to wickedness, which might be saved in spite of itself. But when faith in heaven fails, restrictions necessary for entry become less palatable.

Church discipline is much in the mind of kirk sessions, and the enforcement of sabbath observance as church attendance is a staple of session records. Swearing was also deplorable -- even today the Presbytery of East Toronto has had to rebuke Mr. Trudeau for too frequently taking the name of the Lord in vain in his public or publicized utterances, and it cannot be said that four-lettered words have beautified our expressions or added to our insight in recent years. Obscenity like swearing is an assertion of disrespect, which does not oil the wheels of society.

Sexual offence was another sure standby; homosexuality does not appear -- it was legally punishable, and the salesmanship of sensuality had not yet cheapened ordinary fornication, which is the normal transgression. The act under which Effie Deans fell does suggest a prevalent evil, and it seems to have been read again from the pulpit at Banff in 1750. But social pressure and public censure does seem to have discouraged fornication and adultery. The average number of cases in Banff, which was a populous parish, up to 1762 was between 3 and 6 cases per year (extremes 0 and 12 in 1748 and 1703), and these figures include pre-marital intercourse; only 2 adulteries are recorded between 1745 and 1762. Boston had a most distressing year in Ettrick when 3 illegitimate births

occurred in one year, but he hardly mentions any cases in the ensuing twenty. One fact speaks for the general morality of the common people, namely that one source of poor relief was the 'penalties' imposed by kirk sessions for misbehaviour, which in those sober parishes produced a woefully inadequate revenue. The state had not intervened to make improvidence safe, and since childbirth had its dangers, it is not clear that nature's death penalty was never a deterrent.

But sexual mores were far from the only or main cause of church interest in the flock. Thus in Balmerino or Galashiels we find the Session acting as peacemaker in quarrels; it would also take cognizance of slander and rebuke the guilty. And one must remember how closely the church must have entered into normal life because of the prevalence of death, especially of children -- Boston lost 5 out of 10, Jupiter Carlyle lost all his four, as well as a young brother and sister. For many the church would be the only outlet from the daily economy and indifferent health to a different world -- the hardness of that daily life and the need of rest explains the Lord's Day Observance Act that still survives to be resented in Ontario.

While the Reformation did not aim to abolish the poor, and succeeded in that aim no better than Marxism, it certainly struck a blow at society's provision for them. For them the church remained as the only source of help. The normal parish was not keen to have other people's poor, and the prevalent spirit was that of the inelegant proverb, to keep our ain fish guts for our ain sea maws. Thus we read in Banff in 1714 that the session recommended the magistrates to purge the town of idle

people -- they would become a change on the parish. A limited number of beggars could be licensed, but civil and religious authorities repeatedly combine to remove other vagrants from the parish; thus in Banff in 1705 Isabella Christie and Jean Sim being two idle persons of no good fame, it was recommended to the magistrates to remove them. There is a similar recommendation in 1709 about an infamous young woman, guilty of unseemly carriage -- clearly she could not have been deported from her town, and if in employment would not have needed to solicit. Records of expulsion outwith the parish are easily parallelled in Balmerino, Galashiels, etc. -- there is not care about what happens to these unfortunates/undesirables in the parishes whither they will have been removed.

But charity was not dead. There is a continuous expenditure on relief for the chronically or temporarily poor, and a surprizing amount of this goes beyond the parish or local bounds. Thus from Balmerino: to a woman, widow with 5 children recommended by magistrates and ministers of Stirling: for victims of severe loss by fire in Edinburgh (1709), in Leslie (1727): to strangers, some from Ireland: to a young boy in Kilmany parish come of honest parents, at school there. Nor are those abroad forgotten, e.g. for distressed Protestants in Lisbon and Ireland (1709), the distressed Presbyterian paroch of New York in America (1724). Galashiels helps New Jersey, and Banff in 1761 aids distressed clergy in Pennsylvania. Ransoming Scots from pirates of Algiers is a common entry in all Parishes. Some entries might surprise us as: Balmerino subscribes to a harbour at Cullen, Banffshire, and at Leith;

Calashiels for one at Heymouth (Eyemouth); Banff to build at Keith and Fyvie.

Interest in and awareness of the outside world would owe something to the representation at the General assembly, which rotated, and more people, ministers and elders were involved. Rotation and representation ensured the democratic character of the gathering, and must have contributed to the general knowledge of national affairs. We think of the dominance of the church being that of the ministers, but in Scotland they were only primi inter pares, and it was the activity of the eldership that did so much in keeping church and people in such close touch; more people (and therefore their families) were involved, and it is the decline of the eldership that has permitted the loosening of congregational bonds today. The elders took part not only in the secular operation of the church and its charitable work, but also in its teaching and catechizing. And they had on the whole the additional authority of age.

It remains very hard to sustain perpetual enthusiasm, especially as its causes recede into the past; the Red Guard is a drain on strength. Also such enthusiasm must by the poverty of human nature become restrictive since positive creativity is so soon exhausted. So in the eighteenth century too the worldly desire for greater ease cannot be kept out of the church; it begins naturally among those who can get it, the gradually prospering upper strata. One consequence of the decline of enthusiasm is a greater sensitivity: we know Burns had his troubles, but appearances in the pillory for fornication, still

normal at Banff in 1745, tail off, substituted first by monetary fines -- Carlyle managed to substitute these for the stool of repentance at Inveresk in the 1780s. In fact the quantity of dissent was coming to make the seventeenth century control and discipline impractical. The whole enlightement was a revulsion from the religious wars of the previous centuries, and since people cannot be convinced unwillingly, one way of reducing conflict and augmenting agreement was by turning the religious emphasis from faith to works.

Initially at least, the emphasis on work does not deemphasize morality: there may be a more liberal conception of it by a more liberal attitude to disagreement, but this does nothing to deny the seriousness of life nor the need and value of self-improvement. We must remember the societies for self-improvement such as Burns joined, and which flourished down to the First War, and we should blush when we think what scorn such an avowed aim would raise in a modern school or university. The yoke of faith must guide towards emnity for disagreement, that of works can be committed to no such emnity, though at some point truth may have to incur it. The yoke of works should therefore be easier to bear, and with the change of emphasis there is no diminution of the influence of the church in the small town or rural areas -- one need only think of the influence of the clergy in the Highland emigrations, the old Celtic reverence for the holy man being perhaps strengthened by the alienation of the old chiefs, so that e.g. McLeod could lead his people to Canada, and move them on to Australia.

In Scotland sects tend to secede on the conservative side,

and to represent the poor rather than the rich. One result of the general progress was to begin the movement of the clergy into the upper classes socially, which also affects the sects, if with a time-lag. An early example is Jupiter Carlyle, who benefitting from a more liberal education, a son of the manse who did not become a minister from evangelical fervour, enjoyed the world and the great; yet there is no charge of neglecting his pastoral duties, or impugning his sincerity; he was certainly intellectually satisfied with his faith. He who increaseth knowledge increaseth ignorance, and wider and varied education loosens the sympathies of society. But in general, in Scotland owing to the importance of birth in the old underlying Celtic society and its hierarchic nature, class feeling has never been so hostile or strong as in England; therefore, also owing to the respect for education, the separation of the church from the lower/working classes was a much slower process than in England, and it was also slowed by the fact that many of the new rich rose from the religious poor during the Industrial Revolution and after. The church remained an avenue of social mobility, and new secessions merely made the ultimate opportunities more numerous. And the fact of an educated clergy maintained its prestige; it could attract good minds, and the ministers were likely to be at least in the upper quarter of their flock intellectually, which cannot be said today; they could argue with their opponents, and did not have to get on fashionable band-wagons in the modern manner.

There is one further factor we should consider to account for the hold ofthe church continuing through to the twentieth

century, which also accounts for some of the decline of the Episcopalians, namely that the church with its presbyterian settlement was a national possession. On the loss of Parliament in 1707 and the failure of the Stuarts as a nationalist expression in 1745, only the Presbyterian church was left as a distinction for the Scottish feeling in Britain, and this remained true of the sects of secessions because they were the 'true' church which had not compromised its principles. This spirit can be illustrated by the renewal of the Covenant in the Pentlands by Covenanters of the south-west in 1737, and in the nineteenth century by the great Disruption. The parallel is with Quebec, where only the church remained while aristocracy and business left for France (with the result that the Anglophone could take over chief control of the provincial economy), and only with the weakening of the church language has become the symbol of nationalism. In Scotland the gentry might become Anglified, but business was generally locally controlled till the aftermath of the First War, and the language, Scots or Gaelic, had decayed beyond recovery. There is no substitute for the Kirk as a national symbol, even if it is much weaker. The Episcopalians tended in the popular mind to become equated with the English -- very much so in our own youth -- and this was very much so when the bishops were not of Scottish birth or education or had been Anglican priests. Consequently the differences tended to be emphasized, e.g. seriousness of life and artistic and other puritanism was Scottish, and Scots had the strength to carry them through. It was perhaps as hardy British despise soft natives of warm climates, but all rush now

that they can afford it to the Costa Brava. Satan still knows how to work,'Wealth/power corrupts, give us wealth/power' (and stop corruption). Fortunately in past days, escape from problems was not so easy.